

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there further morning business?

If there is no further morning business, morning business is closed.

USA PATRIOT ACT OF 2001

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will now proceed to consideration of H.R. 3162, which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 3162) to deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The senior Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY, is recognized.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, what is the time agreement that we now have before us?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The chairman and ranking member of the Judiciary Committee have 90 minutes each; the Senator from Michigan, Mr. LEVIN, has 10 minutes; the Senator from Minnesota, Mr. WELLSTONE, has 10 minutes; the Senator from Maryland, Mr. SARBANES, has 20 minutes; the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. FEINGOLD, has 1 hour; the Senator from Florida, Mr. GRAHAM, has 15 minutes; and the Senator from Pennsylvania, Mr. SPECTER, has 15 minutes.

Mr. LEAHY. I thank the Presiding Officer, the President pro tempore of the Senate.

Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may need out of my 90 minutes.

Mr. REID. Will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEAHY. Of course.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that during the day, when quorum calls are initiated, the time be charged proportionately, not only against the person who asked for the quorum to be initiated, but that it be charged proportionately against all people who have time under the agreement that is now in effect.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

The Chair hears no objection. That will be the order of the Senate.

The Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY, is recognized.

(Mrs. CLINTON assumed the chair.)

Mr. LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. President. I agree with the distinguished Democratic leader in his request because we do want to have discussion of this piece of legislation, but there is no question we will vote on this piece of legislation today and we will pass this legislation today.

I think it is only fitting the Senator from New York is now in the chair as we begin discussion of this legislation because her State was one of those that was badly impacted, terribly impacted, tragically impacted on September 11, as were the people of New Jersey and Connecticut, who worked in the World

Trade Towers, and, of course, those at the Pentagon in Virginia, including those in Maryland and the District of Columbia, and actually the whole Nation.

Today we consider H.R. 3162, the second House-passed version of the "Uniting and Strengthening of America Act" or "USA Act of 2001." Senate passage of this measure without amendment will amount to final passage of this important legislation, and the bill will be sent to the President for his signature. We complete our work six weeks after the September 11 attacks and months ahead of final action following the destruction of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995. The American people and the Members of this body deserve fast work and final action.

On October 4, I was pleased to introduce with the Majority Leader, Senator DASCHLE, and the Chairmen of the Banking and Intelligence Committees, as well as the Republican Leader, Senator LOTT, and Senator HATCH and Senator SHELBY, the Uniting and Strengthening America, or USA Act. This was not the bill that I, or any of the sponsors, would have written if compromise was unnecessary. Nor was it the bill the Administration had initially proposed and the Attorney General delivered to us on September 19, at a meeting in the Capitol.

We were able to refine and supplement the Administration's original proposal in a number of ways in the original USA Act, and have continued that process in the development of H.R. 3162. The Administration accepted a number of the practical steps I had originally proposed on September 19 to improve our security on the Northern Border, assist our Federal, State and local law enforcement officers, and provide compensation to the victims of terrorist acts and to the public safety officers who gave their lives to protect ours. This final version of the USA Act further improves the compromise by including additional important checks on the proposed expansion of government powers that were not contained in the Attorney General's initial proposal.

Let me outline just ten ways in which we in the bicameral, bipartisan negotiations were able to supplement and improve this legislation from the original proposal we received from the Administration.

We improved security on the Northern Border;

We added money laundering;

We added programs to enhance information sharing and coordination with State and local law enforcement, grants to State and local governments to respond to bioterrorism, and to increase payments to families of fallen firefighters, police officers and other public safety workers;

We added humanitarian relief to immigrant victims of the September 11 terrorist attacks;

We added help to the FBI to hire translators;

We added more comprehensive victims assistance;

We added measures to fight cybercrime;

We added measures to fight terrorism against mass transportation systems;

We added important measures to use technology to make our borders more secure;

Finally, and most importantly, we were able to include additional important checks on the proposed expansion of government powers contained in the Attorney General's initial proposal.

In negotiations with the Administration, I did my best to strike a reasonable balance between the need to address the threat of terrorism, which we all keenly feel at the present time, and the need to protect our constitutional freedoms. Despite my misgivings, I acquiesced in some of the Administration's proposals to move the legislative process forward. That progress has been rewarded by a bill we have been able to improve further during discussions over the last two weeks.

The Senate passed the original version of the USA Act, S. 1510, by a vote of 96-1 on October 11. The House passed a similar bill, based largely on the USA Act, the following day. The Majority Leader and I both strongly believed that a conference would have been the better and faster way to reconcile the differences between the bills, and to consider the proposals that had been included in the managers' amendment to S. 1510, which Republicans did not approve in time for consideration and passage with the Senate bill. The House did not request a conference when it passed the bill, however, and despite the understanding among House and Senate leadership, the House leadership abruptly incorporated the product of our discussions in a new bill rather than proceed to a quick conference.

Yesterday, the House passed H.R. 3162, which was based upon informal agreements reached by Senate and House negotiators, but which did not include additional important provisions to make the Justice Department more efficient and effective in its anti-terrorism efforts and to reduce domestic demand for illegal drugs, some of which are produced and supplied from Taliban-controlled regions of Afghanistan. I am disappointed that the commitment we received to hold a conference—at which these proposals could have been considered more fully—was not honored. Nonetheless, H.R. 3162, which the House passed yesterday, contains additional improvements to the USA Act that had been negotiated on a bicameral, bipartisan basis, and deserves the support of the Senate.

I do believe that some of the provisions contained both in this bill and the original USA Act will face difficult tests in the courts, and that we in Congress may have to revisit these issues at some time in the future when the present crisis has passed, the sunset has expired or the courts find an infirmity in these provisions. I also intend